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had become, through the activities of the Jesuits, a divergence of burning importance. The consequent tendency of the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish to heal their immemorial differences and to draw together against the common oppressor becomes evident before 1603 and during the reigns of James I and Charles I ever grows stronger, until a united Catholic Ireland rose in 1641 to free itself from the danger of a puritan parliament in England. The narrative is based on a careful study of original materials and adds much to our knowledge of Irish history under the Tudors and Stuarts besides this new point of view.

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FIELDING-HALL, H. *The Passing of Empire*. Pp. viii, 307. Price, \$2.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1914.

HOUGHTON, BERNARD. *Bureaucratic Government: A Study in Indian Polity*. Pp. vii, 200. Price, 3s. 6d. London: P. S. King and Son, 1913.

These two books treat almost the same subject matter and arrive at substantially the same conclusion, both are studies of Indian unrest and present a constructive criticism of present-day British policy in the empire. The first is anecdotal and suggestive, the second is devoted to closer argument and gives greater space to the philosophy of government. Both authors write from a background of official experience in India and both choose most of their examples from the government of Burma.

Mr. Fielding-Hall's argument runs as follows: Indian government was formerly successful because it depended on commanding personalities. The English administrator went out at the age of sixteen or eighteen. He was educated after he arrived. Western civilization did not have a chance to stamp itself upon his character but he grew up in Indian conditions and knew the language and the people. Communication was slow, he cultivated judgment and though his power was arbitrary it was tempered by discretion. The old village organization of Indian society was not disturbed and the English officer, who was not only the representative of government but government itself, had an organic connection with the life of the people. His was a human government, one which recognized that fundamentally the Oriental was moved by the same motives as the Occidental and that the basis of control was sympathy and mutual understanding and respect.

New conditions have destroyed this basis of control. Communication has improved, the officer has become only the last link of a chain which extends to the viceroy and the privy council. As a result freedom of decision has vanished from him, he becomes only the agent of a central authority charged with the duty of carrying out the iron-bound rules of the Indian code. At the same time that he has been made a functionary without real power or discretion the influence of the village which was the basis of Indian government has been destroyed. The headman instead of being part of the village charged with the administration of a unit possessed of a large degree of local autonomy, has become merely "a finger of government" no longer commanding the confidence and respect of the community because he is both in it and of it. The

remedy the author believes lies in recreating so far as possible the advantages formerly possessed by the government.

One of the most pressing needs is a reform of the penal and civil codes in such a way that justice will no longer be a game where each side plays to win at whatever cost. The judge should be given power to encourage the accused to confess by holding out possibilities of lesser penalty, if the affair is arranged without formal trial. The laws which punish villages and individuals without actual proof of wrong-doing should be abolished. They were fitted to an earlier stage of Indian society but often result in serious injustice under present conditions. The codes in fact, by crystallizing old Indian custom, have made healthy legal growth impossible.

English officers should go to India at an earlier age so that they may become acquainted with Indian conditions while their own minds are still plastic. The Indians should be encouraged to enter the civil service but are not to be appointed to the higher administrative positions, because they have not yet developed the capacity to handle the work they would there be called upon to do and because the Indian peoples themselves would not have confidence in them in such positions. Meanwhile local government should be given new life by granting the village a degree of local autonomy, and gradually developing higher district and provincial assemblies. The present councils, the author believes, are worse than a farce because they have no organic connection with the life of the population. Education for self-government is the only means by which Indian unrest can be stilled. It will again make India contented. "To conquer India was great . . . but to make of India a daughter not a subject . . . that will be greater still."

Mr. Houghton's argument is to a large degree a parallel. The change from the old to the present system he pictures as the growth from an autocracy to a bureaucracy. The result is that English government has become lifeless, and formalistic. He has greater confidence in the councils than has Mr. Fielding-Hall. The partition of Bengal he holds was a mistake of the bureaucracy which might have been avoided by the creation of a new council. He thinks that instead of demanding a servile obedience to the bureaucratic governmental machinery the government would do well to arouse party feeling among the people, and encourage education which would make the party feeling intelligent. Control of affairs should be shifted into the hands of men not of the professional official class. "The keynote to all progress lies . . . in the transfer of the superior control from the bureaucracy to men unwarped by official bias and more in sympathy with popular aspirations." The first condition of keeping the Indian Empire, the author believes, is to extend to the people real self-government. The delay necessary in this development, the author evidently thinks, has been exaggerated.

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